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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

SECRET - NO DISTRIBUTION DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12356

EXCISE

June 27, 1960

TO: The Secretary

THROUGH: S/S

FROM: ARA - Mr. Rubottom

SUBJECT: United States Policies toward Cuba

[redacted] B1, ED

There was undoubtedly a predisposition favorable to communism on the part of many of Castro's most trusted advisers, and perhaps Castro himself; the whole Castro page in history conceivably could represent a dramatic high point in the international communist conspiracy with Castro himself as a communist tool.

[redacted] B1, ED

SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE E.O. 12356
REVIEWED BY D. ZISCHKE DATE 11/9/81
PORTIONS DENIED AS INDICATED

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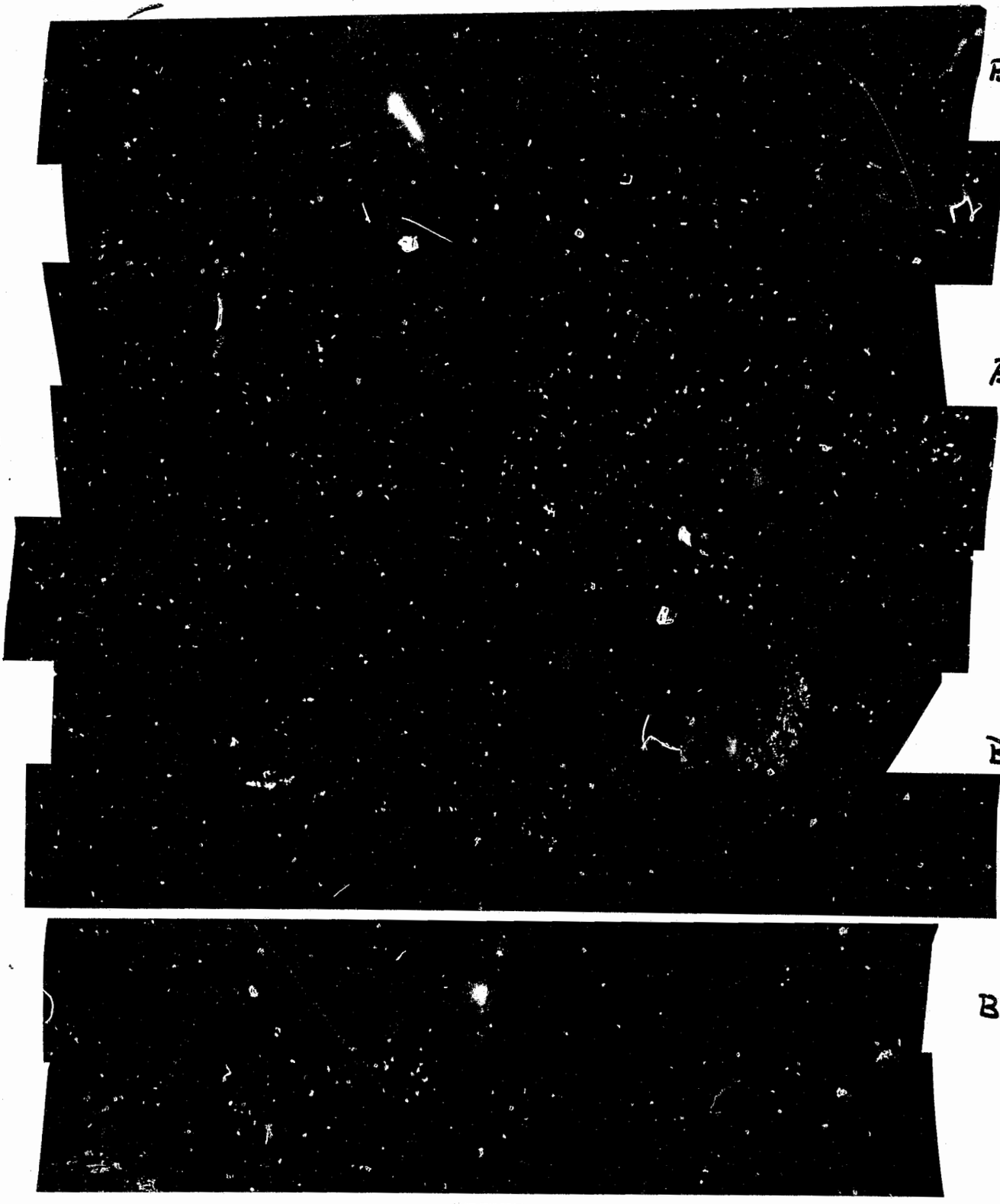
EXCISE



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For your information there are attached the following papers:

(a) OAS posture.

(b) [redacted] B1,ED

(c) Cuban Bilateral Relations.

(d) U.S.-Cuban Relations.
Sugar
Oil
Nicaro
Economic agreements
[redacted] B1,ED

(e) NIE - June 14, 1960

(f) My statement before House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Latin America

(g) The OAS and Possible Soviet-Cuban Military Collaboration.

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ARA:RRRubottom, Jr:dwm

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OAS POSTURE

Short of a meeting of Foreign Ministers, the only organ of the OAS that is competent to consider the Cuban problem is the Inter-American Peace Committee in connection with its study of Caribbean tensions.

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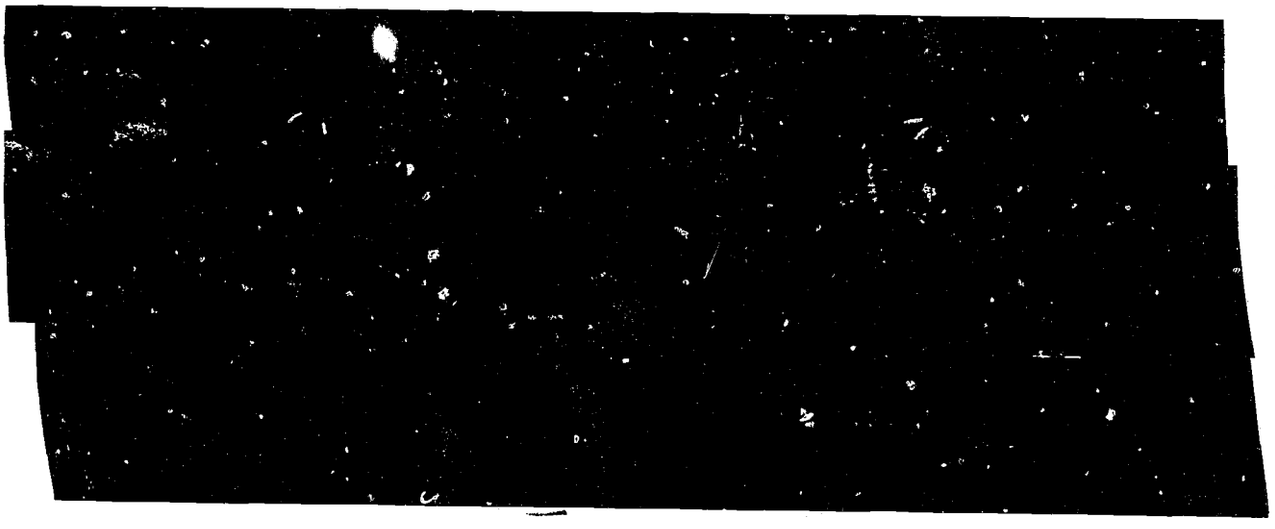
On Monday, June 20, the United States member informed the Peace Committee that this Government thought it now time for the Committee to face up to the problem of Cuba and her contribution to Caribbean tensions. As a step in this process, the United States is today submitting a memorandum on provocative actions of Cuba that have increased Caribbean tensions. This will presumably be followed by other memoranda on other aspects of the Cuban problem.



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June 8, 1960

MEMORANDUM

PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA AGAINST THE UNITED STATES WHICH HAVE SERVED TO INCREASE TENSIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN AREA

For over a year the Government of the United States and other governments of the hemisphere have been increasingly concerned over the rising tensions in the Caribbean area and the consequent threat to the peace and stability of the hemisphere. In response to the previous requests made by the Inter-American Peace Committee of the American governments for information and points of view regarding this subject, this memorandum is being presented to provide information to the Committee about one aspect of the foreign policy of the Government of Cuba which, because of its provocative character, has contributed, and continues to contribute, to international tensions in the Caribbean area.

The Government of Cuba has for many months conducted an intense campaign of distortions, half-truths, and outright falsehoods against the United States Government, its officials, and the people of the United States. The United States has responded to these hostile attitudes and actions of the Cuban Government with patience and forbearance in the hope of avoiding to the extent possible impairment of the friendliness and mutual confidence which traditionally have existed between the two countries and their peoples.

This exercise of restraint, however, has been in vain. The reaction of the Government of Cuba has been to intensify its attacks and expressions of hostility toward the Government and people of the United States. The United States Government considers this systematic campaign of hostile propaganda to be offensive and unwarranted and so informed the Government of Cuba in an aide-mémoire of June 4, 1960, a copy of which accompanies this memorandum (annex 1). A continuation of these attacks cannot fail, in the opinion of the Government of the United States, to contribute further to tensions in the Caribbean area.

When problems or difficulties develop between member governments of the Organization of American States, the principles of the Organization require that those governments make an earnest effort to ascertain the facts and to seek solutions in good faith. This the United States has sought to do with respect to the frequent charges and attacks leveled by the Government of Cuba at the United States. It is clear, however, that the Government of Cuba, far from seeking to ascertain facts, has preferred to exploit opportunities for exciting suspicion and hostility on the basis of unfounded

charges

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charges, distortions and half-truths. The continuation of this policy on the part of the Government of Cuba can in the long run only result in undermining the principles of inter-American cooperation and in making more difficult the maintenance of conditions of friendly, cooperative relations to which all members of the Organization of American States are committed.

La Coubre Incident

An illustration of the provocative attitude of the Government of Cuba is given by the charges leveled against the United States in connection with the explosion aboard the French vessel, La Coubre, while it was discharging ammunition in the Bay of Habana on March 4, 1960. The loss of life, the injury to persons and the damage to property in connection with this tragic incident were the cause of widespread sorrow. The United States Government promptly expressed its condolences to the Government of Cuba over this tragedy. However, within a few hours the propaganda agencies which reflect the views of the Cuban Government implied that the United States was responsible for the disaster. No evidence whatsoever was adduced to support this implication, but statements made by the controlled Cuban press, and by such well-known spokesmen of the Cuban Government as radio commentator José Pardo Llada, left no doubt whatsoever that the United States stood accused by the Cuban Government of perpetrating the explosion.

This attitude of the Cuban Government was then confirmed by Prime Minister Fidel Castro himself in a speech on March 5 at the funeral of the victims of the La Coubre incident. The Prime Minister identified the United States as the responsible agent of the explosion while at the same time admitting that "we do not have conclusive evidence."

The United States has, of course, categorically rejected these charges as having no foundation whatsoever. Nevertheless, the Government of Cuba has preferred to continue its campaign of charging the United States with responsibility for the blowing up of this vessel while failing to provide any kind of substantiating evidence. It has further aggravated the situation, exceeding the bounds of normal diplomacy, by having its ambassadors throughout Latin America give wide distribution, under diplomatic frank, to Prime Minister Castro's speech of March 5 in a pamphlet filled with tragic pictures of this disaster. The obvious intent of this pamphlet was to leave the impression that the United States was responsible for the La Coubre incident. The same pamphlet was also sent by the Cuban Ambassador on the Council of the Organization of American States to other members of the Council. The Delegation of the United States on the Council protested this action in a note of June 7, 1960, to the Cuban representative, a copy of which is enclosed for the records of the Committee (annex 2).

In addition, the text of Prime Minister Castro's speech of March 5 was recently issued in a pamphlet of the Government-controlled Confederación

de Trabajadores

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de Trabajadores de Cuba (CTC). By means of the illustration on the cover and in the statements appearing in the introduction to this pamphlet, the CTC clearly accuses the United States Government as being responsible for the La Coubre disaster.

Attack on U.S. Submarine

Recently a potentially grave incident involving armed attack occurred on the high seas. A United States naval vessel, the U.S.S. Sea Poacher, a submarine, while navigating on the surface on the high seas in a recognized and well-traveled sea lane, was fired upon without warning by a Cuban Coast Guard patrol vessel on May 6, 1960. The submarine was at the time approximately 11 miles from the Cuban coast, as verified in a careful investigation of the incident made by the United States naval authorities.

In line with its policy of attempting to maintain an atmosphere of peace and calm in the Caribbean area and to avoid misunderstandings, the Government of the United States originally made no public mention of the incident. Neither the submarine commander nor this Government could quite believe that what at first appeared to be a question of identification at sea (since red tracers from the Cuban boat were mistaken by the submarine for emergency distress signals and a failure of communications) was really an armed attack. It simply did not occur to the commander that it was possible that the naval vessel of an American country with which the United States was at peace would open fire on a United States vessel without cause.

It was not until May 13, 1960, when the Prime Minister of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro, in a televised speech in Habana, referred to the matter, that the Government of the United States learned for the first time what actually had happened. This is a translation of Dr. Castro's words:

> "On the sixth of May at 22 hours, the coast guard cutter Oriente sighted five miles off the coast of Matanzas a North American submarine which it followed and reached near Cape Blanco, firing several shots at it until it identified itself as the C-4-CL."

It must be stressed that Dr. Castro in his remarks stated that the U.S.S. Sea Poacher was five miles away from the Cuban coast. The point is important because four paragraphs later in the same speech the Cuban Prime Minister stated categorically that three miles is the limit of Cuban territorial waters. Hence there can be no question even in Dr. Castro's mind about the fact that the United States craft was on the high seas.

On May 14, 1960, the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires was asked to call at the Department of State and was informed of the astonishment and of the protest of the Government of the United States over the Cuban action. An explanation

of this

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of this action was requested; however, none has been received from the Cuban Government, and on June 11, 1960, Dr. Castro said in a television speech that none will be given. Thus, in this hostile act on the high seas Cuban authorities demonstrated a preference for promoting unfriendly relations rather than for ascertaining facts and seeking amicable solutions.

For purposes of the record, there is attached a statement prepared by the United States Department of the Navy giving the facts of the encounter on May 6 of the Cuban coast guard vessel Oriente and the U.S.S. Sea Poacher (annex 3).

Air Incursions

The President of Cuba, while recently visiting other countries in Latin America, continued the Cuban Government's attacks against the United States. At a press conference in Montevideo, Uruguay, for instance, President Dorticos spoke about air incursions against Cuba by "North American" planes flown by "North American" pilots from "North American" bases, implying that these flights were inspired or tolerated by the United States Government. He referred to the circumstances that in Argentina he had been asked if the planes and pilots belonged to the United States Air Force. He dismissed the inquiry as a naive question, but then made clear his intent by referring to "two North American pilots" blown up at the Cuban sugar mill "Central España." He said that he did not want to assert that the United States Government was sponsoring these incursions because he did not have evidence, but he then proceeded to imply that the United States Government looked with favor on these flights.

This matter of air incursions over Cuba and the implication that the United States Government is a party to these operations is a constant theme expounded by Cuban Government officials and by the official press and radio in Cuba, despite repeated United States reassurances to the Cuban Government on this point.

On October 27, 1959, Ambassador Bonsal discussed with the Cuban President and Minister of State the over-all state of current United States relations with Cuba. The Ambassador made clear the sympathetic interest which the people and Government of the United States had taken in the freedom and well-being of the Cuban people and nation, and said that it remained the sincere desire of the United States that relations between it and Cuba should be based on friendship, mutual respect, and mutual interest. The Ambassador also stated that the United States Government and its officials had scrupulously avoided statements or actions, especially those of an intemperate nature, which would impair the mutual respect and feeling of confidence necessary to healthy and productive relations between Cuba and the United States. He referred specifically to the problem of air incursions and

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assured the Cuban Government that the United States would continue diligently to investigate and take all appropriate action within the law in any such cases and would welcome specific information and evidence from the Government of Cuba to assist in law enforcement. The Ambassador stated that the United States deeply deplored incidents of this kind and that it was prepared to use to the full measure all of its facilities to prevent infractions of the law. At the same time the Ambassador rejected all inferences that the Government of the United States, its officials, or the people of the United States would give support to or countenance illegal activities against the Government of Cuba. A copy of the Department of State press release of October 27, 1959, issued in conjunction with Ambassador Bonsal's call on the President of Cuba, is attached for the information of the Committee (annex 4).

Despite these assurances, the Government of Cuba and its controlled propaganda agencies continue to make implied charges of United States-inspired air incursions against Cuba in an obvious attempt to stir up animosity toward the United States within Cuba and throughout the hemisphere. Speeches and sensational news articles containing deliberate distortions have been resorted to in the making of these charges.

Because of the seriousness of these oft-repeated charges against the United States, it is considered important to review the facts concerning such flights as well as the actions taken by the United States Government to prevent the use of its territory as a base of illegal activities against Cuba.

In October 1959, Major Diaz Lanz, former Chief of the Cuban Air Force in the Cuban Government, left United States territory in an unarmed plane without the knowledge of the United States authorities. Major Diaz Lanz flew over Cuba and dropped propaganda leaflets on the City of Habana. Prime Minister Castro promptly charged that Major Diaz Lanz had also dropped bombs on the City of Habana causing damage to human life and property. His charge completely disregarded the report of the National Police of Cuba that the Diaz Lanz plane had not been observed to have engaged in either bombing or strafing.

On his return to the United States, Major Diaz Lanz was apprehended by United States authorities and his plane was seized and examined. It was clearly established that the plane could not have carried or dropped bombs or mounted machine guns and that the only activity in which Major Diaz Lanz had engaged was the dropping of propaganda leaflets. The United States Government expressed its regret for this incident publicly and issued a press release on November 9 (copy attached as annex 5) concerning the results of its investigation which showed that only propaganda leaflets

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had been dropped. The information obtained in the investigation was also communicated officially to the Cuban Government by the United States in a note of November 9, 1959, a copy of which is attached (annex 6).

Despite the prompt and energetic action taken by the United States Government, and its expressions of regret for the incident, the Cuban Government and its propaganda agencies have continued to foment the idea that Habana had been "bombed." As recently as May 31, 1960, the United States Government had to protest strongly in a note (copy attached as annex 7) the dissemination in the United States by the Cuban Consulates General in New York City and Miami of a pamphlet entitled "Cuba Denounces Before the World." This pamphlet repeated the unfounded allegations that on October 21, 1959, the City of Habana had been bombed with explosives and strafed from two aircraft based in the United States and implied that the United States Government countenanced these flights. This continued disregard by the Cuban Government of facts surrounding a serious international incident, and its continued use of proven untruths, is an outstanding example of the provocative policy being followed by the Cuban Government with respect to its relations with the United States.

A second illegal harassment flight which is believed to have originated in the United States involved a light plane which on February 18, 1960, exploded in mid-air over a Cuban cane field under circumstances which have never been clarified. The two pilots, one a United States citizen and the other a Cuban, were killed. Again the United States expressed publicly to Cuba its regrets over this illegal flight.

A third flight on March 20-21 involved two United States citizens, William J. Shergalis and Howard Rundquist, whose plane was damaged by Cuban gunfire as it landed on a highway in Cuba. A Grand Jury in a United States District Court, Miami, Florida, has completed an investigation of this flight, and as a result has indicted Shergalis and one Hector Garcia Soto for acting as agents of the Cuban Government without having filed with the Attorney General of the United States the registration statement required by United States law. The indictment, a copy of which is attached (annex 8), states that acting under the direction of the Government of Cuba, Shergalis and Garcia arranged for the airplane flight which left Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on March 20, and ended in Cuba on March 21. It may be added that Garcia, at the time, was a Cuban employee of the Cuban Consulate in Miami.

A fourth apparently illegal flight, which took place in May, resulted in the death of a light plane's single occupant, the pilot, a United States citizen, who was shot and killed in Cuba reportedly when attempting to pick up several Cuban passengers. This incident is still under investigation by the United States authorities.

There are no other cases where there is any substantial evidence known to the United States authorities that air incursions over Cuba have originated

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in the United States. Nevertheless, it is recognized that the long Florida coast line, the presence in that state of considerable numbers of Cuban political refugees, and the numerous airports in the general area constitute a combination of factors conducive to the undertaking of adventures against Cuba. Therefore, the United States has taken most unusual precautions against illegal air incursions from its territory affecting Cuba. These measures have been explained in detail in United States communications to the Inter-American Peace Committee dated November 9, 1959, and March 30, 1960. They constitute the most rigorous and elaborate system of controls ever adopted by the United States Government in time of peace. Yet the Cuban Government has shown no recognition of the efforts of the United States to stop such activities, and has continued to picture the United States Government as permitting and encouraging continuous and numerous deliberate air incursions against Cuba, an allegation which is completely unfounded.

Furthermore, the United States Government has on various occasions formally requested the cooperation of the Government of Cuba in supplying data with regard to air incursions (such as time, type of plane, its movements, etc.) which would assist United States authorities in determining their origin and otherwise aid them in investigative and policing efforts. At no time has the Government of Cuba provided the United States with the information requested, thus demonstrating once more its lack of interest in ascertaining facts as a basis for resolving problems.

False Allegations by Cuban Officials of United States Aggression Against Cuba

According to Revolución, officially inspired news organ published in Habana by the 26th of July Movement, President Dorticos in his recent Montevideo press conference was asked about the danger of armed aggression against Cuba. The President said in effect that when it came it would be from the United States. He said that the revolutionary government was not worried by the threat of invasion from Batista followers, counterrevolutionaries, or war criminals. But he added that there was a maneuver for aggression afoot. It is obvious from Dr. Dorticos' position that he was accusing the United States Government of planning an armed attack on Cuba, for which it was using Communist penetration in Cuba as an excuse.

As recently as June 8, 1960, in a particularly hostile and vitriolic speech, Dr. Fidel Castro again accused the United States of planning an armed attack on Cuba when he said that if the United States invaded Cuba, this island would become another Algeria. Throughout this speech, Dr. Castro frequently referred to an impending invasion and when he stated that "if they try to attack us, they shall be defeated" there was no question but that "they" referred to the United States.

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In a speech on the following day, June 9, 1960, Dr. Castro charged that blind egotistical forces of the United States threatened to sow more violence and death in Cuba than the blind forces of nature had caused in Chile. In the same speech, Dr. Castro injected the La Coubre disaster once more, stating that this incident was still fresh in everybody's mind and that it was provoked by powerful interests which wanted to destroy the revolution. He further said that this type of disaster was much worse than those resulting from natural causes because it was criminally conceived and executed. The reference to the United States within the context of his speech was very clear.

The United States has repeatedly stated that it has no aggressive designs against Cuba. Its conduct toward Cuba has consistently and repeatedly demonstrated that it has no such designs. It strongly supported the recommendation of the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Foreign Ministers for the strict observance of the nonintervention principle by all member states of the Organization. Nevertheless, high officials of the Cuban Government have continued to make false and provocative accusations to the effect that the United States intends to attack Cuba directly or indirectly. These irresponsible efforts of the Cuban Government to portray the United States Government as planning an armed attack reflect a provocative policy designed to foment tension and undermine the fabric of inter-American solidarity and cooperation.

If the Cuban Government has any serious reason to believe that attacks on Cuba are being organized in the United States, its first obligation as a member of the inter-American community is to bring any information it may have on the matter to the attention of the United States Government in order that the facts may be obtained. Should these efforts fail, the appropriate procedure would be for the Government of Cuba to bring the matter to the attention of the proper organ of the Organization of American States in order that it might be considered in accordance with established inter-American procedures. The Cuban Government has on the contrary taken neither action but has consistently preferred to air unfounded charges without substantiation and without resorting to the methods which the American States have established for the solution of such problems.

Cuban Propaganda Activity in the Diplomatic Sphere

The continuous attacks by the high officials of the Cuban Government against officials of the United States Government have been augmented by vicious propaganda carried out by many Cuban diplomatic missions and consular establishments, including those within the United States. For example: The Cuban Ambassador in Bolivia recently stated, " ... words written in blood remain, reads the Spanish proverb, yet the Yankees who surely must know the old adage do not cease in their eagerness to civilize. They bomb us, shell us, and impose treaties upon us."

Aside

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Aside from the dubious propriety of this extraordinary extension of the diplomatic function, statements of this nature by Cuban diplomatic officials, which have been made against other American governments as well, serve also to cause difficulties for the governments to which these officials are accredited.

False Allegation of United States Complicity in a Plot to Invade Nicaragua

On June 10, 1960, Prime Minister Castro in a television program made statements that officials of the United States Department of State had been participants in a plot to embarrass the Cuban Government. The plot was described as one in which an invasion attempt against Nicaragua was to be mounted in Cuba under the leadership of one Chester Lacayo, a Nicaraguan exile.

The allegations of United States involvement in any such plot were, of course, entirely false. It can only be assumed that this was a part of the deliberate campaign of slander being undertaken by the Cuban Government to create a false picture of the motives and actions of the Government of the United States.

Some of the false statements which were made by Prime Minister Castro were: (1) that Chester Lacayo met with Secretary of State Herter and Assistant Secretary Rubottom (the fact is that he did not meet with either of these officials); and (2) that a telegram was sent to Lacayo notifying him of an appointment with the Secretary of State (no such telegram was ever sent by any official of the Department of State). It must be assumed that these false statements were made for the purpose of lending some appearance of credibility to the fictitious account as a whole.

False Allegations by Cuban Press and Radio

The attacks against the United States by the Government-inspired press and radio of Cuba have been and continue to be even more virulent. A few of the more extreme diatribes broadcasted by Unión Radio and Radio Mambi are included below as evidence of the obvious intent of the Cuban Government to further disturb relations between the two countries.

On December 11, 1959, Tony Fernández, deputy director of the Cuban Government-controlled station of the Cuban Workers' Confederation, Unión Radio, commented:

> " ... Secretary Herter, with the characteristic hypocrisy he inherited from Foster Dulles, said that the United States was making sincere efforts to better its relations with Latin America in general and with Panama and Cuba in particular. Christian Herter knowingly lied. He lies because what the United States has done and is doing in Latin America is nothing but maintaining tyrants in power ... The Secretary

of State

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of State lies when he says that numerous attempts have been made to achieve a better understanding with Cuba ... Christian Herter brazenly lies when he says the American Government has taken all steps to discuss the differences that affect relations between the two countries and that the Cuban Government gives no indication of being disposed to negotiate ... What Christian Herter calls negotiating is for the Republic to give itself over to the voracity of the octopuses ... Christian Herter's hypocrisy is such that he avoids making his threatening statements through the official news agency of the Yankee government, UPI, and appears on a televised program to say that if Cuba does not want to sell its sugar to the United States it will accept the offers of other countries who are interested in selling their sugar ..."

Radio Mambí, an outlet of the Government-controlled FIEL network (Frente Independiente de Emisoras Libres), stated on January 15, 1960:

" ... We believe that the United States needs a good revolution to sweep away completely that bunch of prejudices that weighs on North American reality. We believe that a good revolution is needed in the United States to do away with the imperialist and colonialist mentality of certain exploiting castes and to eliminate forever from that grand nation the reactionary remora, represented by the majority of its politicians."

Radio Mambí on January 22, 1960, stated:

" ... Within the revolting panorama of international intrigues the most repugnant one is the shady, hypocritical, and moronic policy of the U. S. State Department. Greatly to blame for this was a certain John Foster Dulles---may God confound him for the immense pool of innocent blood which his stupidity formed in the unconquered fields of Korea! That good man, fortunately now dead, collected in a basket all the residues of the worst systems put into effect by imperialism and then poured the bag of evil onto the anguish of the nations ... John Foster Dulles died of a terrible disease and was replaced by his favorite disciple, a Mr. Herter, a robust wolf of the imperialist den. Mr. Herter took over and began to work to foil our revolution ... To the invocation of his favorite disciple, errant and asinine spirit of Mr. Foster Dulles appeared enveloped in sulphurous smoke and whispered in Mr. Herter's ear several words which brought a smile to the lips of the U. S. Secretary of State. We do not know what Foster Dulles' disembodied soul said to that rogue of a Mr. Herter, but we do know that one fine day the old golf player who misrules the United States packed his baggage and his little balls, together with a map of the world. Mr. Herter, it is time you stopped your filthy little game. Roll up your sleeves and let us lay our cards on the table. Let us begin the game, Mr. Herter, again if you like, but let us play without tricks and without marked cards ..."

Radio

Radio Mambí on March 1, 1960, referring to President Eisenhower's trip to Latin America, stated:

> " ...What a visit! It is a political joke. Why did Eisenhower decide to visit only four South American republics? He chose Brazil because a Mr. Kubitschek is there. That gentleman still maintains the old putrid idea of Pan Americanism. He chose Argentina because Mr. Frondizi is an unhappy comedian who believes in the democratic farce maintained by bayonets and who is ready to sell his soul to the U.S. devil as long as he can remain in power. Mr. Eisenhower chose Chile because a Mr. Alessandri is there, a man who is ruling behind the back of his people. He chose Uruguay because he could not do otherwise. Since the country is in the path of his tour, it would have been discourteous not to visit it. The rest of America does not mean a thing."

These attacks are the more insidious because the Cuban authorities are aware that they are deliberate distortions presented in such a manner as to inflame uninformed Cuban and Latin American public opinion. Cuban officials have protested when the press and public of the United States have expressed resentment over these unjustified attacks. They could hardly have expected any other reaction to such distortions. Furthermore, since freedom of the press has been so drastically curtailed in Cuba, there is virtually no opportunity for the Cuban people to learn the facts in this situation.

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In conclusion, it must be stated that the Cuban Government's systematic and provocative campaign of slander and hostile propaganda against the United States, of which various examples have been cited in this memorandum, is a major contributor to international tensions in the area of the Caribbean and of the hemisphere as a whole.

Annexes on next page.

Department of State
Washington, D.C.
June 21, 1960

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Annexes:

1. Text of aide-memoire to Foreign Ministry of Cuba, June 4, 1960.
2. Note to Cuban Representative on the Council of the Organization of American States, June 7, 1960.
3. Statement of the United States Department of the Navy, May 6, 1960.
4. Department of State press release no. 760, October 27, 1959.
5. Department of State press release no. 781, November 9, 1959.
6. U.S. note to Cuban Ambassador, November 9, 1959.
7. U.S. note to Cuban Chargé d'Affaires, May 31, 1960.
8. Indictment of Shergalis and Garcia.

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ANNEX 1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE RELEASED

FOR THE PRESS

JUNE 4, 1960 NO. 304

Following is the text of an Aide Memoire delivered today to the Foreign Ministry of Cuba:

In view of the campaign of slander being directed against the United States by representatives of the Government of Cuba, including the Prime Minister and the President during the latter's present visit to certain countries in Latin America, the United States desires to set the record straight with respect to its efforts to maintain its traditionally friendly relations with the people of Cuba and to make clear to everyone the nature of the response which has been received from the Government of Cuba.

1. President Dorticos, when recently in Montevideo, expressed a desire to end campaigns of "lie and deceit", yet at the same time announced that properties of United States citizens in Cuba had not been "confiscated" but had actually been "expropriated" and their owners reimbursed for such properties. In fact, however, to our knowledge not a single American property owner has been reimbursed for the lands taken from him.

2. The United States has a long record of cooperation with countries seeking to carry out sound policies of agrarian reform and in various official communications to the Government of Cuba over the past year it has voiced its sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the Cuban Revolution. On January 26, 1960, the President of the United States made special reference to this point in his statement on United States-Cuban relations. The United States Government, however, cannot but protest in the strongest way the utter disregard for international and Cuban law with which American property owners in Cuba have been treated since the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law of June 3, 1959. Property has been confiscated, expropriated or intervened, frequently without receipt, and the owners, many of whom have made substantial contributions to Cuban national development, have physically been expelled from their lands. Individually owned properties as well as large corporations with thousands of small stockholders, both Cuban and American, have been subjected to arbitrary intervention and control by the Government of Cuba, which has resulted in a tremendous loss in capital values and the destruction of vital credit standings.

3. Payments due to American exporters for goods shipped to Cuba in good faith over the past year have accumulated to over $100 million although in the same period dollar exchange has been found by the Government of Cuba to purchase armament worth tens of millions of dollars and to increase total dollar reserves.

On April 11,

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4. On April 11, 1960, this Government asked the Government of Cuba if the views expressed by Dr. Ernest Guevara, President of the National Bank of Cuba, on March 2, 1960, with regard to United States-Cuban economic relations, represented the official position of that Government. Among other things, Dr. Guevara had asserted that "the representatives of the (American) sugar companies are trying to show that by selling to another country (USSR) we are enslaving ourselves, and they have never stopped to analyze what amount of slavery the three million tons of our sugar which we customarily sell at supposedly preferential prices to the giant of the north has meant and means for the people of Cuba". To date no reply has been received from the Cuban Government.

5. The Prime Minister of Cuba recently charged the United States Government with a desire to cause serious harm to Cuba because of its decision to terminate in an orderly manner the United States program which has been providing technical assistance to Cuba for over eight years. With regret it must be stated that this absurd charge cannot be dismissed as an inadvertent or ill-considered remark which has no place in the reality of present Cuban policy toward the United States. For many months the United States Government has watched the development by the Government of Cuba of a calculated campaign to misrepresent and denigrate the special economic relationships between our two countries which have worked to the mutual benefit of both peoples for over 50 years.

6. The Government and people of the United States emphatically reject the theme often repeated by various high officials of the Government of Cuba that the close economic association between our two countries has worked to the detriment of the Cuban economy and well being. On the contrary, we believe that this association has made constructive contributions to the overall development of Cuba.

7. With regard to the unauthorized flights over the territory of Cuba there is evidence that certain Cuban officials, far from cooperating with the United States to prevent them, have conspired and connived in the violation of United States laws and regulations designed to protect Cuba from such incursions.

8. The United States Government told the Cuban Government on March 7, 1960 that it vigorously rejected and protested the unfounded and irresponsible implication voiced by the Prime Minister, of United States responsibility for the unfortunate explosion of the ship, La Coubre, in Habana harbor on March 4, 1960. Notwithstanding this, and in the absence of any evidence to support this charge, the Cuban Government has recently distributed a pamphlet imputing the responsibility to the United States Government for this tragedy, an act which this Government finds to be offensive.

9. On May 14,

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9. On May 14, after the Cuban Prime Minister had boasted that a Cuban patrol boat had fired upon a United States submarine and pursued it for thirty miles, the United States requested of the Cuban Government an explanation for this unprovoked attack on a United States vessel while on the high seas. At the same time our Government vigorously rejected the false allegation of the Cuban Prime Minister that the submarine had been within Cuban territorial waters. No reply to this representation has been received from the Cuban Government.

These are some illustrations of the unwarranted campaign against the United States with which the present Cuban regime seeks to sow distrust and animosity, despite its protestations that it seeks friendship and understanding. An intense official campaign of slander like this does not promote the climate of economic cooperation and peaceful development which the people of the United States, like those of all this hemisphere, certainly seek.

* * *

State--RD, Wash., D.C.

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ANNEX 2

UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

The Representative of the United States of America on the Council of the Organization of American States presents his compliments to His Excellency the Representative of Cuba on the Council of the OAS and has the honor to refer to the fact that the members of the Delegation of the United States of America have received in a manner described to be "With the compliments of the Cuban Delegation to the OAS" a pamphlet entitled "Patria o Muerte" which is identified as a document of the Department of Public Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Republic of Cuba. This document contains thinly veiled charges, completely unsubstantiated by evidence, which strongly imply the involvement of the Government of the United States of America in a disaster which took place in the harbor of Habana, Cuba on March 4, 1960.

Under instructions from his Government, the Representative of the United States of America on the Council of the OAS states to the

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to the Delegation of Cuba that the above-mentioned implication contained in the pamphlet is not only completely fallacious but is also offensive to the Government of the United States of America. As the Representative of Cuba on the Council of the OAS is well aware, the categoric and emphatic denial by the United States Government of charges made by the Prime Minister of Cuba implying involvement of this Government in the disaster, as contained in the pamphlet under reference, was made known to the Chargé d'Affaires of Cuba on March 7, 1960, and this Government strongly objects to the continued dissemination of these baseless charges in the propaganda material transmitted to the United States Delegation by the Delegation of Cuba.

Washington, June 7, 1960

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ANNEX 3

ENCOUNTER OF A CUBAN COAST GUARD VESSEL

AND

THE UNITED STATES SUBMARINE SEA POACHER

ON MAY 6, 1960

On the evening of May 6, 1960, the United States Navy Submarine Sea Poacher (SS 406) was enroute from the Naval Station, Guantanamo, Cuba to the Naval Base at Key West, Florida. The Sea Poacher was navigating by piloting along the north coast of Cuba through the Old Bahama and the Nicholas Channels. At approximately 9:30 p.m. while running on the surface on course 325° true, speed 15 knots, at position 23 degrees 20 minutes north latitude, 80 degrees 16 minutes west longitude, a position approximately eleven miles north of the coast of Cuba, the bridge personnel on the Sea Poacher sighted the lights of an approaching ship dead ahead. The Sea Poacher attempted to exchange identifying signals with the approaching ship by the use of flashing light; however the unidentified ship replied with unintelligible light flashes and appeared to be maneuvering toward the Sea Poacher. The Sea Poacher, in accordance with International Rules of the Road, sheered to starboard in order to effect a "port-to-port" passage as required in a "meeting" situation. The unidentified ship then maneuvered to port in such a manner that had the Sea Poacher resumed her original course, a collision would have been probable. Therefore Sea Poacher continued turning to starboard until she was approximately 90 degrees from her original course, and increased to maximum speed in order to open the distance between the two ships and thus avert any chance of collision. The unidentified ship fell in astern of the Sea Poacher and, at a range of 2500 yards, fired what appeared to be several red "flares". The Sea Poacher continued opening the range to 4000 yards and then slowed on the assumption the flares might have been distress signals. The unidentified ship continued to follow the Sea Poacher, extinguished its running lights, and fired three more bursts of "red flares" while at a range of 3000 yards. Sea Poacher, still thinking the flares might be distress signals, allowed the identified ship to close to

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1500 yards on a parallel course off the port beam. The unidentified ship then passed astern of Sea Poacher and assumed a parallel course on the Sea Poacher's starboard beam. During the periodthe unidentified ship was in close proximity, the Sea Poacher again endeavored to communicate by flashing light but received in turn only occasional unintelligible flashes. The Sea Poacher, however, was able to see the unidentified ship sufficiently well to identify it as a sub chaser. When it became apparent that the ship was not in distress the Sea Poacher increased speed and departed the area in a northwesterly direction. Through reference to recognition manuals the submarine chaser was later identified as the former United States Navy submarine chaser (SC-1000), now the Cuban Coast Guard Patrol Vessel Oriente (GC 104).

The initial encounter between the two ships and all subsequent maneuvering were in international waters well clear of Cuban territorial seas. The Sea Poacher was operating on the surface and displaying the proper navigational running lights at all times. From analysis of the trajectory and appearance it was believed that the red "flares" which were fired at the Sea Poacher were 20 mm tracer type ammunition. This belief was later corroborated by a statement by the Prime Minister of Cuba.

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ANNEX 4

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FOR THE PRESS

OCTOBER 27, 1959 NO. 760

AMBASSADOR BONSAL'S CALL ON THE PRESIDENT OF CUBA

Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal called on President Osvaldo Dorticos in Habana who was accompanied by Minister of State Raul Roa to express the serious concern of the Government of the United States about the current state of relations between the United States and Cuba. Ambassador Bonsal informed the President and the Minister of State that he had been instructed to express his government's preoccupation over what seemed to be deliberate and concerted efforts in Cuba to replace the traditional friendship between the Cuban and American people with distrust and hostility which are alien to the expressed desire of both Governments to maintain good relations. He expressed the hope that the Government of Cuba, in fulfillment of its share of the responsibility for the maintenance of good relations, would earnestly review its position in order that the traditional friendship of the two countries, deeply desired by both peoples, might be restored before further damage is done to Cuban-United States relations.

Ambassador Bonsal made clear that the sympathetic interest which the people and government of the United States had taken in the freedom and well being of the Cuban people and nation antedated the founding of the Cuban Republic and remained the basic attitude and policy of this country towards Cuba. He pointed out the sacrifice of American lives jointly with those of Cuban patriots in the achievement of Cuban independence and the many contributions which private United States individuals and enterprises had since made to the progress of Cuba. He also expressed to the President the appreciation which the Government and people of the United States have felt and continue to feel towards the Cuban people and nation for their loyal alliance with the United States in defense of democracy and freedom against totalitarianism in two World Wars and their satisfaction with the mutually beneficial relationship of good neighbors which has existed for more than half a century.

Ambassador Bonsal informed the President that it remained the sincere desire of the government and people of the United States that the relations between this country and Cuba should continue to be based on the friendship, mutual respect, and mutual interest which have bound the destinies of the two nations together in the community of free nations. He pointed out that the United States Government and its officials had scrupulously avoided statements or actions especially those of an intemperate nature which would impair the mutual respect and feeling of confidence necessary to healthy and productive relations between Cuba and the United States. He also underscored that the United States, in every proper way, had sought to show its

understanding

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understanding and sympathy with the aspirations for honest, efficient government, for the perfection of the democratic process and for economic development leading toward higher living standards and full employment. He said that these were goals which the people of Cuba share with peoples of the United States and other free nations and which in fact distinguish these free nations from the totalitarian dictatorships which have been imposed elsewhere in the world.

With respect to specific issues about which distortions and misunderstandings have become current in Cuba, Ambassador Bonsal informed the President and the Minister of State as follows:

1. The United States has observed and will continue to observe a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba and enforces, to the best of its ability, the Neutrality Act, the Customs Laws and other legislation which prohibit certain activities against foreign governments by persons resident in the United States, including citizens of Cuba who have sought refuge in Florida and elsewhere in the United States. By so doing this Government is also fulfilling its obligations as a member of the OAS.

The investigative and law enforcement agencies of the United States Government have diligently investigated all available information involving possible violations of the applicable statutes and brought before the courts all those cases where sufficient evidence existed. In the light of current information that Cuban elements in opposition to the Government of Cuba may have been using the territory of the United States to carry out activities in violation of United States laws, these investigative and enforcement efforts have been further intensified. It must be borne in mind, however, that the United States Government is a government based on law and constitutional guarantees and that persons under the jurisdiction of the United States cannot be arbitrarily arrested, imprisoned or interfered with at the pleasure of the executive authority. Consequently, the ability of the United States to enforce the relevant laws is dependent on the discovery of specific acts in violation of those laws. On several occasions, the Government of the United States has without result invited the Government of Cuba to supply information and evidence concerning the acts and activities of which complaint is made. In this connection, it is noted that the United States Government is still awaiting from the Government of Cuba, information concerning the alleged illegal export of arms from the United States of which Major William Morgan of the Cuban Army has publicly claimed knowledge.

2. With

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2. With respect to the reported flight over Habana on October 21 of an aircraft which dropped leaflets containing political propaganda, the United States authorities are on their own initiative conducting an intense investigation. To date, they have obtained a statement from the former Chief of the Cuban Air Force, Pedro Diaz Lanz, who on previous occasions in 1958 had succeeded in evading the surveillance of the US authorities to fly supplies to the 26th of July Revolutionary movement, to the effect that he had piloted an unarmed aircraft over Habana on October 21, a statement which Diaz Lanz has subsequently publicly denied. Investigation is continuing and the case has been placed before the Attorney General of the United States to determine whether any prosecutable violation of a United States statute is involved or bases for arrest exist. There has been no evidence submitted by the Government of Cuba or in possession of the Government of the United States that the aircraft in question was armed, dropped bombs, or strafed during its flight over Cuba. It is noted, from press reports, that in a statement on October 21, the National Police of Cuba declared that the plane had dropped leaflets but had not dropped bombs. Under these circumstances, the US Government cannot but view with shock and amazement efforts to imply that it countenanced the "bombing" of Habana, efforts which can serve no purpose other than to arouse unfriendly feelings between the two countries. Ambassador Bonsal recalled that on an earlier occasion he had publicly stated that the U.S. Government deplored the death and injury of innocent Cuban citizens which occurred in connection with the events of last Wednesday. The Ambassador stated, however, that the U.S. Government categorically and indignantly rejects any imputation that events of that day were in any way inspired by officials of the U.S. Government.

3. The Government of Cuba may be assured that the Government of the United States will continue diligently to investigate and take all appropriate action within the law in all such cases, and would welcome specific information and evidence from the Government of Cuba to assist in law enforcement. The United States deeply deplores incidents of this kind which adversely affect the good relations which should exist between the two countries, and is prepared to use to the full measure all of its facilities to prevent infractions of the law. At the same time, the United States Government cannot but reject with indignation all inferences that the Government of the United States, its officials, or the people of the United States have given support to or countenanced illegal activities against the Government of Cuba. Not only are such charges utterly unfounded, but they can only contaminate that atmosphere of good faith which should prevail in the relations of neighboring states.

4. The

4. The United States also desires once again to make clear to the Government of Cuba its policy with respect to the export of arms and implements of war to the Caribbean area. The basic position of the United States is that of adherence to the principles of non-intervention and of loyalty to the efforts of the American community as represented in the Organization of American States to maintain within this hemisphere a climate of peace and tranquility within which all American peoples can progress towards the full enjoyment of the benefits of representative democracy and economic progress. There has, however, arisen in various parts of the Caribbean area an atmosphere of violence and tension, and arms obtained in the United States have been utilized against the desires of the United States Government and people in civil strife and in efforts to intervene by force in the internal affairs of other countries of the area. Accordingly, the United States, beginning in March of 1958, instituted a policy of closely scrutinizing all applications for export of arms and implements of war to the Caribbean area and, in fact, of denying licenses with respect to shipments to the then Government of Cuba. It was the profound hope of the United States that, with the establishment of the present government of Cuba, peace and tranquility would be restored to the Caribbean area and that steady progress could be made by all the peoples of that area in the realization of their aspirations for the establishment of democratic institutions and for expanding economies and higher living standards. This hope, however, has not been realized. Armed expeditions were organized and launched against various countries, an armament race appeared imminent, and armed civil strife and terrorism continued. In these circumstances, the United States was unable to return to its traditional policy of licensing the export of arms with the assurance that they would be employed solely for legitimate purposes of defense but instead was obliged to extend impartially to the entire Caribbean region its policy of careful scrutiny of all arms export applications and denial of those likely to contribute to an increase of tension in the area. This policy was made known to allied and friendly Governments, who consulted with the United States but who, of course, fully retained the right to make their own decisions in each instance. It should be amply clear that this policy is not directed against the Government of Cuba, rather it is based solely on the obligation of the U.S. to help maintain peace in the area.

5. It has also been represented that the press and wire services of the United States have engaged in a deliberate campaign to misrepresent and discredit the Government of Cuba. This charge is categorically rejected by the United States Government and people, who cherish and take pride in the independence and objectivity of the press as one of the fundamental freedoms which have assured the exercise of representative democracy in the United

States

States. Moreover, the United States Government does not undertake to influence newspapers and wire services to make them conform to the point of view of the Government or its officials. It follows that the U.S. Government cannot assume responsibility for the observations and interpretations of the press concerning developments in Cuba.

6. Questions have also been raised with respect to the attitude of the Government of the United States towards the program of economic and social reform being undertaken by the Government of Cuba. It is manifest that the Government and people of the United States, who are deeply attached to economic and social progress within a free society, share and support the hopes of the Cuban people for the achievement of social justice, higher living standards and a more prosperous economy. It would not be appropriate for the United States Government to endorse the specific measures undertaken by the Government of Cuba to attain these objectives, or to comment on their efficacy, except as they affect the rights established under international law of United States citizens and corporations and otherwise affect the relationships which bind Cuba and the United States for their mutual benefit. The points of view of the United States on these aspects have been made known to the Government of Cuba through diplomatic channels on numberous occasions, and the United States awaits a resolution by the Government of Cuba of the issues involved on the basis of friendship and observance of international law which have traditionally characterized negotiations between Cuba and the United States. It is, however, the hope of the United States that these normal negotiations will not be distorted to obscure the deep sympathy with which the entire United States views the efforts of the Cuban people to achieve their social, economic, and political aspirations.

7. The position of the Government and people of the United States on the issue of international Communism is well known. The United States was founded in the belief that man's quest for freedom was an irresistible force, and the United States faces the challenge to freedom which has been posed by international Communism with calm and full confidence that mankind's desire for freedom will triumph over it, as it has over other totalitarian ideologies. Communism, with its avowed purpose of imposing authoritarian rule and denying freedom of speech, religion, and assembly as the democratic world has understood it, can never be consistent with the principles on which the American Republics and other free nations of the world are founded. Nevertheless, the United States has been convinced by its experience throughout the world that all free nations must remain vigilant and determined in resisting the expansion of Communism by aggression and subversion if democracy is to flourish. Everywhere in the free world, democracy is daily challenged by the subversive and disruptive tactics of Communists responding to alien guidance and serving alien interests. It is solely against the anti-democratic, subversive activities of Communists in the service of foreign

totalitarianism

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totalitarianism that the United States firmly believes that the free world should be vigilant; it would be a travesty to suggest that the United States opposes democratic ideals and measures designed for social and economic progress merely because the communists make use of these as slogans to veil their true anti-democratic intentions.

After enumerating these issues, Ambassador Bonsal expressed to the President his Government's hope that the Government of Cuba would review its policy and attitude toward the United States.

* * *

State -- RD, Wash., D.C.

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ANNEX 5

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FOR THE PRESS

NOVEMBER 9, 1959 NO. 781

Inaccurate, malicious and misleading reports have been spread throughout the world concerning the alleged bombing or machine gunning of Cuban citizens in Habana on October 21, 1959, by a plane from the United States. A campaign, evidently designed further to create an atmosphere of hostility in United States-Cuban relations, now includes an offensive brochure on this subject apparently published by the Ministry of State of the Government of Cuba. The United States Government desires to make the following statement on the results of its further investigation of this incident.

On October 27, 1959, the United States Ambassador to Cuba informed the President of Cuba that the Government of the United States possessed no evidence that the B-25 aircraft which distributed leaflets over the City of Habana on October 21 had also dropped bombs or strafed during its flight. In the interim since that date a careful examination of this plane has revealed that its bomb bay was fitted with a permanent luggage rack which made it impossible for it to drop bombs. Furthermore, the former automatic weapons positions were found to be permanently sealed making it impossible to mount machine guns or cannon on this plane. No trace was found of explosives or weapons or any evidence that explosives had been dropped or weapons fired from this plane; nor does it bear any marks of damage from anti-aircraft fire. This Government's intense investigation, furthermore has developed no evidence that any other aircraft from the United States was flying over Habana on this occasion.

The United States Government has also noted that in addition to the press report of the National Police of Cuba various other informed sources in Cuba have reported that the above-mentioned plane was not observed to drop bombs or strafe. An analysis of the available evidence, including eye-witness reports, indicates that many, if not all, of the persons injured received their wounds either from stray rounds of 20 and 40 mm shell fragments from anti-aircraft fire of the Cuban armed forces or from grenades or bombs thrown from automobiles by terrorists.

It is the well-known and established policy of the United States Government to encourage the well-being and peaceful progress of peoples throughout the world. Because of the especially close historical and friendly relations with the people of its neighbor Cuba, the United States Government particularly deplores the deaths and injuries suffered by innocent Cuban citizens on the evening of October 21. However, it again categorically rejects any implication that the United States Government gave its tacit approval to the flight of the B-25 or was in any way responsible for this tragic circumstance.

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State--RD, Wash.,D.C.

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ANNEX 6

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D E P A R T M E N T O F S T A T E

November 9, 1959

Excellency:

I have the honor to refer to a brochure received on November 6 from the Press Department of the Ministry of State of the Government of Cuba which bears the imprimatur of the Public Relations Department of that Ministry. This publication is in the English language and is entitled, "Cuba denounces before the world".

After carefully reviewing this brochure I must state to Your Excellency that I consider it to be a shocking compilation of half-truths, innuendos and insinuations published in what seems to be a deliberate attempt to inflame world opinion against the Government of the United States on the malicious pretext that it countenanced or gave tacit approval to the flight of a plane or planes over the City of Habana on October 21. I find it almost unbelievable that the Government of Cuba has seen fit to distort and misrepresent this matter in this way. I am particularly aggrieved at this action in view of the categoric statement of the Ambassador of the United States to the President of Cuba on October 27 that the Government of the United States possesses no evidence that the B-25 aircraft which distributed leaflets over the City of Habana on October 21 had also dropped bombs or strafed during its flight. In the interim since that date a careful examination of this plane has revealed that at the time

of the

His Excellency

Dr. Ernesto Dihigo,

Ambassador of Cuba.

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of the flight its bomb bay was fitted with a permanent luggage rack which made it impossible for it to drop bombs. Furthermore, the automatic weapons positions were found to be permanently sealed making it impossible to mount machine guns or cannon on this plane. No trace was found of explosives or weapons or any evidence that weapons had been fired from this plane; nor does it bear any marks of damage from anti-aircraft fire. The Government of the United States has no evidence that any other aircraft from the United States was flying over Habana on this occasion. Furthermore, the Government of the United States, in spite of its request, has received no official information on this subject from the Government of Cuba.

The Government of the United States has also noted that in addition to the press report of the National Police of Cuba various other informed sources in Cuba have reported that the above-mentioned plane was not observed to drop bombs or strafe. An analysis of the available evidence, including eye-witness reports, indicates that many, if not all, of the persons injured received their wounds either from stray rounds of 20 or 40 mm shell fragments from fire by the Cuban Armed Forces or from grenades or bombs thrown from automobiles by terrorists.

I have noted that the brochure makes reference to "fugitives from justice who now, under the protection of political asylum, violate international law by launching new and criminal attacks against Cuba." This statement and other remarks in a similar vein made in the past by officials of the Government of Cuba imply that the Government of Cuba considers that the Government of the United States in some unexplained manner has been unduly protecting individuals in the United States from Cuban persecution.

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This is not the case. I must emphasize to Your Excellency that the Government of the United States is a Government of laws and that the Treaty of Extradition which exists between our countries is a part of the body of law under which we are governed. This Treaty clearly delineates the conditions and the procedure to be followed in seeking the return to Cuba of alleged fugitives from Cuban justice who are in this country. Ten months have elapsed since the formation of the present Government of Cuba, during which several consultations have been held between officials of our respective governments as to the procedures to be followed under the above Treaty and other United States laws on the subject. Despite the time elapsed and the consultations since early 1959, no formal requests have been made to the Government of the United States by the Government of Cuba under the terms of the Treaty for the purpose of obtaining the return of these "fugitives" to Cuban jurisdiction for crimes allegedly committed under the previous regime.

The Government of the United States most deeply deplores the deaths and injuries suffered by innocent Cuban citizens on the evening of October 21. However, in view of the publication to which I have referred and numerous other false reports which have been spread throughout the world concerning the alleged bombing and machine gunning of Cuban citizens by a plane which departed from the United States, I must ask Your Excellency for an explanation of the reason the Government of Cuba saw fit to publish this document so inconsistent with the good faith and mutual respect essential to the maintenance of good relations between our two countries. It is my since hope, Your Excellency, that the account contained therein does not represent the official position of the Government of Cuba in this matter.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the Secretary of State:

/s/ R.R. Rubottom, Jr.

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ANNEX 7

(COPY)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

May 31, 1960

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Cuba and notes that the Cuban Consulates General in New York City and Miami have been disseminating political propaganda of an objectionable character. The Department refers particularly to a pamphlet entitled, "Cuba Denounces Before the World" which contains the unfounded allegations that on October 21, 1959 the City of Habana was bombed with explosives and strafed from two aircraft based in the United States and carries the implication that the United States Government countenanced these flights. It will be recalled that on October 27, 1959 Ambassador Bonsal informed President Dorticos and Minister of State Roa that there has been no evidence submitted by the Government of Cuba or in the possession of the Government of the United States that the one aircraft in question, piloted by Pedro Diaz Lanz, former Chief of the Cuban Revolutionary Air Force, was armed, dropped bombs, or strafed during its flight over Cuba.

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The attention of the Chargé d'Affaires is also directed to the Department's note of November 9, 1959, to Ambassador Dihigo, requesting an explanation of the shocking compilation of half-truths, innuendos and insinuations contained in the publication entitled, "Cuba Denounces Before the World". The Department has not received a reply to this request, and despite the notification that the pamphlet contains objectionable material, the Cuban Consulates within the United States continue to distribute this publication. It must be assumed with regret, therefore, that the account contained in the pamphlet represents the official position of the Government of Cuba in this matter.

The Department is of the opinion that this pamphlet contains political propaganda of a misleading and objectionable character, the dissemination of which is not considered as being within the scope of the functions of a duly accredited Consular Officer of a foreign government. Accordingly, it is requested that the dissemination of this, and other pamphlets containing similar objectionable material, be discontinued immediately by the Cuban Consular establishments or any other offices of the Cuban Government in the United States.

Department of State,

Washington, May 31, 1960.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA
MIAMI DIVISION

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No. M-Cr.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)
)
v.) INDICTMENT
)
WILLIAM J. SHERGALIS and)
HECTOR GARCIA SOTO)
)
)

The Grand Jury charges:

COUNT ONE

1. WILLIAM J. SHERGALIS, the defendant herein, has been at all times from on or about February 16, 1960, and until March 22, 1960 a "person" as defined in Title 22, United States Code, Sections 611 et seq. (known as the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended), hereinafter referred to as "the Act."

2. Juan Orta Cordova, Alfredo Guerra, Abelardo Colome Ibarra, also known as "Captain Fury," Ramiro Valdez, Hector Garcia Soto, also known as "Guillermo," Carlos Hernandez, as well as the Government of the Republic of Cuba, its officials and representatives, have been foreign principals, as defined in the Act, at all times from on or about February 16, 1960 and up to and including March 22, 1960.

3. By virtue of his conduct and activities,

WILLIAM J. SHERGALIS

the defendant herein, from on or about February 26, 1960 until March 22, 1960, was an "agent of a foreign principal" as defined in the Act, in that the said defendant, (following conferences in Havana, Cuba, during the period February 16 to February 26, 1960, with representatives of the Government of the Republic of Cuba, including Juan Orta Cordova, Director General of the Office of the Prime Minister, and others), within the United States of America and within the Southern District of Florida, did collect information for and report information to a foreign principal, to wit, the Government of the

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Republic of Cuba, its officers and representatives as hereinafter set forth, including information regarding the activities of persons opposed to the present Government of Cuba; and in that the said defendant, within the United States of America and within the Southern District of Florida, agreed to and did act under the direction of a foreign principal, to wit, the Government of the Republic of Cuba, its officials and representatives, including Juan Orta Cordova, Alfredo Guerra, Abelardo Colome Ibarra, Ramiro Valdez, Hector Garcia Soto and Carlos Hernandez, and in furtherance thereof did arrange for and participate in an airplane flight beginning on or about March 20, 1960 at Ft. Lauderdale in the Southern District of Florida and ending on or about March 21, 1960 in the Republic of Cuba; and in that the said defendant, within the United States of America and within the Southern District of Florida, did solicit compensation and other things of value from a foreign principal, to wit, the Government of the Republic of Cuba including its officials and representatives as aforesaid.

4. During the period from on or about February 26, 1960, and until March 22, 1960,

WILLIAM J. SHERGALIS,

the defendant herein, has unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly acted, in the respects as alleged in Paragraph 3 of this indictment, within the United States of America and the Southern District of Florida, as an agent of a foreign principal without having filed with the Attorney General of the United States the registration statement required by the Act.

5. By reason of the nature of his activities and his relationship with the Government of the Republic of Cuba, its officials and representatives,

WILLIAM J. SHERGALIS,

defendant herein, does not fall within the purview of any of the exemptions from registration provided by the Act.

In violation of Sections 612, 618, Title 22, United States Code.

The Grand Jury further charges:

COUNT TWO

1. HECTOR GARCIA SOTO, also known as "Guillermo," the defendant herein, has been at all times from on or about November 5, 1959 and until the date of the return of this indictment, a "person" as defined in Title 22, United States Code, Sections 611 et seq. (known as the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended), hereinafter referred to as "the Act."

2. The Government of the Republic of Cuba, its officials and representatives, have been foreign principals, as defined in the Act, at all times from on or about November 5, 1959 until on or about April 12, 1960.

3. By virtue of his conduct and activities,

HECTOR GARCIA SOTO,

the defendant herein, from on or about November 5, 1959 until on or about April 12, 1960, was an "agent of a foreign principal" as defined in the Act, in that the said defendant within the United States of America and within the Southern District of Florida, did collect information for and report information to a foreign principal, to wit, the Government of the Republic of Cuba, its officers and representatives, including information regarding the activities of persons opposed to the present Government of Cuba; and in that the said defendant, within the United States of America and within the Southern District of Florida, agreed to and did act under the direction of a foreign principal, to wit, the Government of the Republic of Cuba, its officials and representatives, and in furtherance thereof within the United States of America and

within the Southern District of Florida, in or about March, 1960, did arrange for and participate in meetings with WILLIAM J. SHERGALIS, and others, and did make arrangements for an airplane flight beginning on or about March 20, 1960 at Ft. Lauderdale in the Southern District of Florida and ending on or about March 21, 1960 in the Republic of Cuba.

4. During the period from on or about November 5, 1959 until on or about April 12, 1960,

HECTOR GARCIA SOTO,

the defendant herein, has unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly acted, in the respects as alleged in Paragraph 3 of this indictment, within the United States of America and the Southern District of Florida, as an agent of a foreign principal without having filed with the Attorney General of the United States the registration statement required by the Act.

5. By reason of the nature of his activities and his relationship with the Government of the Republic of Cuba, its officials and representatives,

HECTOR GARCIA SOTO,

the defendant herein, does not fall within the purview of any of the exemptions from registration provided by the Act.

In violation of Sections 612, 618, Title 22, United States Code.

A TRUE BILL

May 3, 1960

Foreman

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E. COLEMAN MADSEN
United States Attorney

WILLIAM S. KENNEY
Special Attorney
U. S. Department of Justice

ROGER P. BERNIQUE
Special Attorney
U. S. Department of Justice

ALTA M. BEATTY
Special Attorney
U. S. Department of Justice

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STATEMENT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
R. R. RUBOTTOM, JR., BEFORE THE HOUSE
FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTER-
AMERICAN AFFAIRS

June 20, 1960

Mr. Chairman:

I welcome this timely opportunity to join the Subcommittee at this time in a discussion of international Communism in Latin America.

The events of the past few months have brought to the surface the greatly intensified effort of the Soviet Union and Communist China in Latin America to break down the common front which all of the nations of this Hemisphere have traditionally presented against totalitarian dictatorships in the Old World.

Chairman Khrushchev, shortly after returning to Moscow after shattering the hopes vested by all peaceful people in the Summit Meeting and brusquely cancellin the invitation extended to our President to visit the Soviet Union, accepted an invitation to visit a Latin American country. This country, he made plain at his Paris press conference after the Summit breakdown, should serve as a model for revolutions in other Latin American countries. Several times in the last several months Chairman Mao Tse-tung appears to have gone out of his way to receive Latin American Communist leaders and to exhort them to give their full backing to the kind of revolution which he and Chairman Khrushchev like. Everywhere in Latin America, the Communist Parties have now reverted to a belligerent and revolutionary line aimed as much at trying to capture sincere nationalism and weakening the democratic governments of Latin America as at fanning hatred of the United States.

To understand the intensity of the current Communist drive in Latin America, I think it is necessary to examine the fundamentals of our relations with Latin America. These relations are based on common principles, and these principles are alien to Communist ideology. Latin Americans, just as we in the United States, set the highest value on freedom, and we believe that this freedom is best assured by the effective exercise of representative democracy. Neither Latin Americans nor the peoples of this country believe that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is a desirable goal for political activity, nor do we believe that it is a necessary or desirable phase which society inevitably must go through to achieve the better material life to which we all aspire.

Latin America does not believe, any more than we do, that suppression is the road to freedom. We see this clearly in the great ground swell which has swept so many dictatorships from the Latin American scene in the last several years, and we may rest assured that ultimately Latin America will just as decisively reject dictatorships masquerading behind a totalitarian, atheistic ideology. Peoples in the American Republics aspire to societies in which the individual free man can, through the ballot box, have a voice in his destiny.

Another outlook

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Another outlook which unites the Americas is a common concept of the goal of economic activity. Latin America shares with us the concept that the goal is a better life for all citizens; like us they deplore the existence of totalitarian systems in which citizens are forced to devote their energies and dissipate their wealth to maintain a high level of armaments and to subsidize the foreign subversive and propaganda activities designed to impose that system on other peoples. Latin Americans, a highly individualistic people, believe in economic as well as political freedom and, in the last analysis, reject the regimentation which all totalitarian ideologies seek to impose upon them.

And what of moral and spiritual values which are the antithesis of communism? They constitute a great bulwark of strength against Communist penetration of the Americas, which would destroy them if successful, although obviously they need to be reinforced by visible evidence of economic and social progress.

Finally, Latin America joins with us in a firm determination that the Hemisphere we share with it shall be secure from aggression from the outside and resistant to the fifth column, subversive activity directed by totalitarianism. This was their stand during World War II, and during the fifteen years that the Free World has been overshadowed by the threat of Communist aggression and subversion, the Latin American countries--alone of the great underdeveloped areas--have virtually always been strong allies on all questions involving the security of the Free World against Communism.

I say all this to emphasize strongly that the Latin American countries themselves have as great a stake as we do in countering Communism in the Western Hemisphere and that we must work together with them to meet this threat. At the same time, Latin America offers conditions which greatly tempt the Communists: It is an area in transition, facing myriad problems in attempting rapidly to raise the standards of living and economic productivity of its people profound changes are occurring in its political and social structure; its population is growing more rapidly than that of any other area, and widespread dissatisfaction with existing conditions and an urge to reform is the order of the day. Inevitably, this process of change--although ultimately leading toward the goals of greater freedom and a higher living standard for the individual--brings temporarily frictions, frustrations and maladjustments which the Communists seek to exacerbate and to use to their advantage. Like the judo fighter, they seek cleverly to use the points of weakness to make the area's strength work against itself.

At the present time, it is clear thatthe Communists have maximum and minimum goals in Latin America. As indicated by Mr. Khrushchev's remarks at his Paris press conference, this maximum goal is that a revolutionary pattern should spread throughout Latin America, characterized not only by virulent anti-Americanism but also by a radical economic transformation in which the private property of the local population as well as foreigners would be seized without compensation and the economy subjugated completely to the control of the State. It is also clear that the revolutionary pattern which Mr. Khrushchev desires is also to be characterized by the leading role which the Communist Party is to play in the management of the revolution he hopes to see spread in the Latin American area. Should the Communists succeed in spreading this revolution

in Latin America,

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in Latin America, they would have (1) dealt a heavy blow to the strength and unity of the Free World, and (2) doomed the peoples of the countries involved to the spiritless captivity which has always followed massive Communist intervention and takeover.

The Communists must, of course, realize that the chances that they will achieve this maximum objective are slim. Ultimately the Latin American peoples themselves will not accept playing the role of a Soviet instrument against the forces of freedom of which they are a part. The Communists, therefore, have a minimum objective as well. That minimum objective is to provoke the United States into actions and attitudes inconsistent with the spirit of partnership which regulates inter-American relations and thus not only permanently to damage our relations with Latin America but also to offset the image of Hungary and Tibet by portraying the United States before the world as an "aggressor" intervening in the internal affairs of its neighbors.

It is important to note that these maximum and minimum objectives represent a slight but important shift in international Communist tactics in Latin America, adding up to a more aggressive policy. Some years back, during Stalin's time, the Communists in Latin America as elsewhere generally had as their goal that the Communists should gain open control, and they considered "united front" tactics and the like merely as means to that goal. At that time, the Communists were almost everywhere in Latin America openly dedicated to the overthrow of existing governments. Although the Communists, of course, still retain the seizure of power and the establishment of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as their ultimate goal, Khrushchev in the mid-1950's introduced more subtle policies. He thought that the short - and intermediate - term interests of international Communism would best be served by collaboration with nationalist elements in Asia, Africa and Latin America whom he thought could be relied upon to be anti-U.S. even if they were non-Communists. Accordingly, on the international plane, he launched a government-to-government diplomatic and trade-and-aid offensive with nationalist governments, some of whom in Latin America as in the Near East and Africa were actually suppressing or restricting the local Communist parties. Within the countries, the Communist parties were ordered to conceal their true revolutionary and subversive purposes and as respectable "democratic" parties seek alliances with nationalist and leftist elements. It was evidently Khrushchev's hope that by sacrificing to some extent the immediate ambitions of Communist parties and having them adopt a "soft" line, he could bring about a break between the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the one hand, and the United States and its European allies on the other.

Khrushchev's policy was soon revealed to have substantial deficiencies from the Communist point of view. Although several nations of Africa and Asia accepted his aid and were visited by him, they did not turn against the United States and they in many cases vigorously checked the subversive and illegal activities. In Latin America, although the Communists gave their support to non-Communist candidates and parties, they had little success with this method. In some cases, the electorate rejected the candidates whom the Communists supported; in others, candidates who had won with Communist support subsequently excluded the Communists. Thus, among Communists, a question arose as to whether the short-term "peaceful coexistence" policy meant the liquidation or weakening of the Communist parties on which the international Communist leadership ultimately had to depend if the long-range goal of Communization was to be reached.

Interestingly

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Interestingly enough this question was very much in the foreground when the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party met in Moscow at the end of January 1959, approximately a month after the Batista Government in Cuba was overthrown. This Congress was attended by Latin American Communist Party leaders from at least eighteen of the twenty Latin American Republics and most of them subsequently went on to Peking. During their sojourn behind the iron curtain, it was apparently decided that the full weight of the Communist apparatus in Latin America should be thrown behind the Cuban Revolution and that there should be improved coordination between all of the Latin American Communist Parties to make this more effective.

The question arises: Why did International Communism select the Cuban Revolution at that time as the type of revolution to support? The answer perhaps may be found by an examination of the characteristics which differentiate the Cuban Revolution from other nationalist revolutions in Latin America as well as in Africa and Asia. From the Communist point of view, one criterion must have been the degree of collaboration with the Communist Party. The difficulty they had seen in other nationalist revolutions was that the nationalists excluded rather than welcomed the collaboration of the Communist Party, and the revolution thus ultimately served the purpose of local nationalism, rather than Communist internationalism. A second attractive characteristic in Communist eyes was the determination of the Cuban Revolutionary Government to carry forward ruthlessly and without regard to the individual and property rights of free people a fundamental social and economic revolution which had as its professed aim to put all power in the hands of the "workers and peasants", this being a euphemistic expression to cover an utterly cynical dictatorship. In dealing with other nationalistic movements, the Communists had always encountered opposition from the democratic classes which resisted efforts of communization of the society. Finally, the Communists doubtlessly saw advantage in a revolution which claimed to universal applicability throughout Latin America as distinct from nationalist revolutions confined to one country. We saw and heard Chairman Khrushchev take the Castro kind of government to his heart, and then offer it to the rest of Latin America.

In deciding to throw their weight behind the Castro kind of revolution, the Communists brought into play considerable resources. In Latin America it is estimated that there are 250,000 card-carrying Communists. Although it is sometimes said that this is a small portion of the population, we must bear in mind that this represents at least twenty times as many Communists as there are in the United States, which has a population approximately equal to that of Latin America. The leaders of these Communists have been fully trained behind the iron curtain and have demonstrated extraordinary skill in establishing Communist-front groups and in infiltrating into student, labor and other groups. It has been estimated that it would take $100 million to finance a propaganda effort of the scope which the Communists are carrying out in Latin America today. This propaganda offensive includes not only the huge amounts of Communist propaganda which is being published and disseminated within Latin America but also large amounts of propaganda imported from the Communist Bloc and distributed through Bloc Missions in the area. Communist Bloc radio broadcasts to Latin America extensively, and last year the Spanish language broadcasts of Radio Peking was increased to the point that it is now second only to the world-wide English language broadcasts.

All of these

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All of these assets are now concentrated on supporting and spreading the Castro kind of Revolution throughout Latin America. To this extent the Communists have moved away from the policy of collaborating with other non-Communist groups and are now emphasizing to a greater extent the hitherto revolutionary approach which constitutes a direct threat to the other Latin American Governments. Khrushchev has in speeches made it abundantly clear that he fully supports the Cuban Revolution. He first made a reference to it in a speech before the Indian Parliament during his trip to that country earlier this year and has favorably referred to it on several occasions in addition to the endorsement which he gave at his Paris news conference. Communist theoretical publications in Peking, as well as Moscow, have also endorsed the Cuban Revolution. It is noteworthy in this respect that the Cuban Revolution is signled out while there no longer are favorable references to the other national movements of Asia and Africa which the Soviets formerly warmly endorsed. The Cuban Revolution, in short, represents the pattern of revolution which the Communists would like to see spread throughout the underdeveloped world to replace national independence and strengthening of individual political and economic freedom.

This stepped-up aggressiveness of Sino-Soviet policy, and the extent to which it involves using Cuba and the Cuban revolution as its instrument, are obviously of serious concern to the United States, and I am confident that this concern is widely held elsewhere in the hemisphere. The problem of preventing its encroachments is one which calls for the most effective utilization of the resources available to those who value human liberty and the maintenance of the freedom and independence of ourselves and our allies.

One of these resources is, of course, the constant attention which all responsible persons and governments must give to the elimination of those social and economic evils for which international communism offers false and damaging panaceas. It would be dangerous to assume that the fact that extremist and even chaotic programs of social reform are actually contrary to the general well-being is perceived by everyone in Latin America. Some elements tend to look uncritically at claims and assertions of reform in the interests of those who need land and homes, and this tendency is exploited to the full by the Communists. This means, of course, that all concerned with general economic and social progress in Latin America must be certain not only that forward-looking steps are taken, but that their purpose and usefulness are more widely understood. This involved our own programs of cooperation and assistance, but it also involves the governments and responsible groups in Latin America which have such an important stake in the maintenance of orderly, democratic, independent government in this hemisphere. I point this out, not because it necessarily offers our best approach to counteracting Communist penetration, but because it is often overlooked or misunderstood.

The views of the Department of State with regard to the specific resolutions which are before this Subcommittee have been set forth in considerable detail in letters to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Dr. Morgan, as well as to certain of the sponsors of the proposals. It is our view that the problem of international Communist intervention in the Americas, when this goes beyond what can be done by each government within the framework of its exisjting obligations to the OAS and the UN, should be approached on a multilateral basis in conformity

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with the international instruments available for that purpose. We think it is in our national interest to maintain this course, and another course could have seriously injurious effects upon our country and its standing and influence throughout the hemisphere and the world.

It is my view that ways and means can and will be found within the framework of procedures available and our international obligations to counteract such threats to the peace and security of the American States. A prerequisite to multilateral consideration of this problem within the OAS must be the effective accumulation and presentation by all concerned of the evidence of the case in a manner which will convince the governments and people of the American Republics of the full nature and scope of the danger confronting all of us. In this respect particularly, I believe that the statements and actions of international communism and its leaders in recent weeks amply demonstrate that it is engaged in a new and intensified campaign of intervention in the internal and external affairs of this hemisphere, and that this campaign is aimed at preventing genuine progress through orderly representative government in the Americas.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES AND POSSIBLE SOVIET-CUBAN MILITARY COLLABORATION

Action of the Government of Cuba in entering into a military assistance agreement with the Soviet Union or agreeing to the establishment on Cuban soil of a Soviet base unquestionably would create a "fact or situation" endangering "the peace of America." It would therefore serve as the basis for a call for an urgent meeting of the Organ of Consultation of the Organization of American States in accordance with Article 6 of the Rio Treaty, in order that the "measures which should be taken" for the common defense and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the continent could be agreed upon.

The threat which the activities of the international Communist movement, of which the Soviet Union is the directing agent, constitute for the peace of the independent countries of this hemisphere has been apparent to the members of the inter-American system since the end of World War II. In 1948 in Bogotá, in 1951 in Washington, and in 1954 in Caracas, they denounced such activities. On the latter occasion, these activities were defined as "constituting intervention in American affairs," and it was declared that when such intervention progressed to the point of actual "domination or control" of a government by international communism, action in accordance with existing treaties was called for. In so deciding, the American Republics were making crystal clear their adherence to the principle and concept that the liberty and independence of the nations of this hemisphere must be kept free of the extension from abroad of an alien political system, and that any effort to extend such a system to this area would be incompatible with the opportunity for democratic development. These are concepts which have served as guiding norms in this hemisphere.

Any military arrangement which the Cuban Government might make with the Soviet or its satellites offers a particularly dangerous example of Soviet interference. It purports to provide greater military security to a government and people which are in no danger and which are being placed increasingly under its subversive influence and control. The Cuban people confront no threat and no danger from any member of the Organization of American States, or any party to the Rio Treaty -- on the contrary, the inter-American system, by its principles and commitments, as well as by those of other instruments of the Organization of American States, offers protection for every truly independent nation of the hemisphere. Conclusion of a Cuban-Soviet military pact can therefore only be viewed as an expression of an aggressive intent that would heighten international tensions in contradiction to the established purposes of the inter-American system.

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As they agreed in 1954, the American Republics see in the aggressive character of the international Communist movement "a special and immediate threat to the national institutions and the peace and security of the American States and to the right of each state to develop its cultural, political and economic life freely and naturally." Any threat with which the security of the Cuban people, and now the rest of this hemisphere, is confronted comes from abroad. It comes from the constantly demonstrated aggressive designs of the Sino-Soviet bloc, which permits its puppets no independence, and desires to reduce other free nations to that subservient status.

For the Government of Cuba, in the face of these facts, to place itself in the position of an active collaborator in military affairs with the dictatorship which is the controlling force of the international Communist movement constitutes a flaunting of the principles of inter-American solidarity. For the Soviet Union to project itself in this manner into a region where the rights of governments and peoples to freedom and independence are respected is a threat to the entire hemisphere. This threat is intensified when it is accompanied by Khrushchev's open but cynical call upon organized Communist or other minorities to revolt against established governments all over the hemisphere.

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Draft of Possible Notice to Americans Traveling in Cuba

In recent weeks the Department of State has received a number of inquiries from American citizens asking whether, in the light of certain conditions now existing in Cuba which have been reported in the press, the Department considers that they would encounter undue hazard or inconvenience in the event that they travel to that country. For this reason the Department desires to inform American travelers to Cuba that while travel facilities remain generally normal, it is recommended that they take particular care while in Cuba to avoid activities or statements which might be construed to be of a political nature. They should also be careful to avoid infractions of emergency laws or regulations such as those relating to currency controls, importation of firearms or ammunitions, or travel to restricted areas within the Republic.

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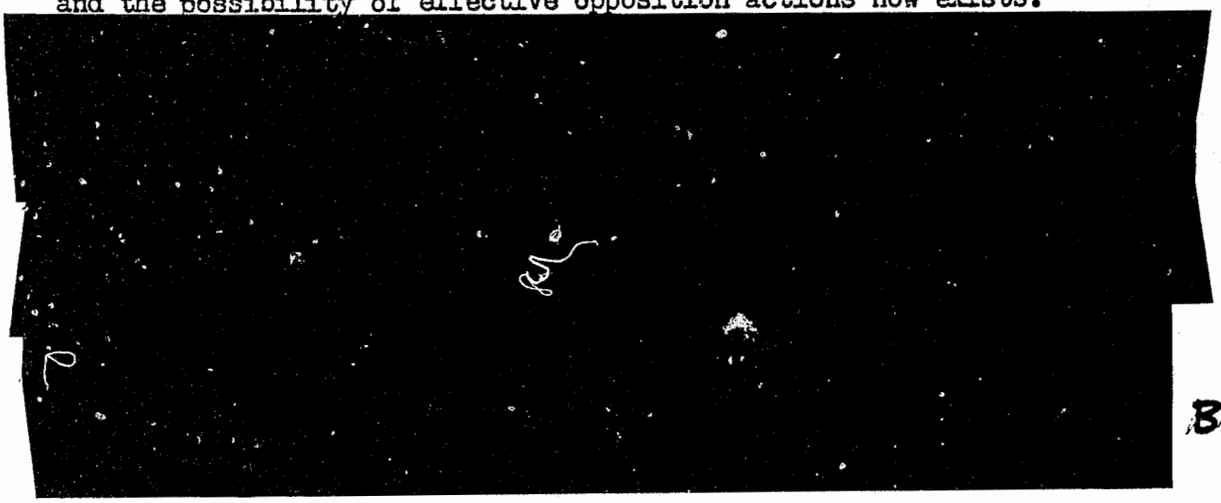
BUILD-UP OF ANTI-CASTRO ELEMENTS

The opposition to Castro is at last showing signs of coalescence and the possibility of effective opposition actions now exists.



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Within Cuba there are more and more reports of discontent with a very serious break down of the University of Habana immediately in prospect as a result of the Communist take-over of the University administration.

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BILATERAL RELATIONS

Three countries, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and Nicaragua, have severed diplomatic relations with Cuba, essentially because of Cuban interventionist activities and attitudes, and Guatemala has made a general statement to the Inter-American Peace Committee condemning the Cuban Government's practices. The views of the other Latin American governments vary from extreme displeasure over Cuban meddling and recognition of the general threat the Castro movement poses, to a very high degree of toleration.

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U.S.-CUBAN RELATIONS

A. Economic

1. Sugar. As of June 24, 1960 the Cubans had certified a total of 2,180,000 short tons out of their present U.S. quota of 3,120,000 short tons. [redacted] BI, ED

It is my understanding that with regard to the current sugar bill it is proposed to establish the Cuban quota for 1960 at that amount which has been certified up to the day the President signs the bill.

With regard to the sugar situation it should be kept in mind that the pipeline from east coast cane sugar refineries to the retail shelf is only about five days and that the chief storage for raw sugar is in Cuba. Because of this, action by Castro such as refusal to permit sugar exports to the U.S. or confiscation of all American investment in Cuba would be likely to result rather quickly in apparent (not necessarily actual) shortages of refined sugar. The refining industry believes that it can largely offset this possibility if it could have a week or ten days' confidential advance notice in order to plan for raw shipments from other sources, at least in the short run.

2. Oil. The three petroleum companies remain firm in their decision not to refine the Russian crude and it seems almost certain that seizure of their refineries is to be expected momentarily. In order to supply present Cuban needs of 80-90,000 barrels per day approximately 1/2 of the Russian tanker capacity will be required. However, there is a large quantity of tanker tonnage available for charter. The oil companies will surely expect at a minimum that their representative governments will protest vigorously should their refineries be seized. [redacted] BI, ED

3. Nicaro. Today a Cuban negotiating team, headed up by the Minister of Agriculture, Pedro Miret, is due to arrive in Washington. The original intent was to consider possible purchase of Nicaro by the Cuban Government and the Cubans may be expected to explore this possibility. However, the latest report from our Embassy indicates that the Cubans may have given up any thought of purchase and now may seek U.S. acceptance of taxation up to 5%. The USG now pays no taxes.

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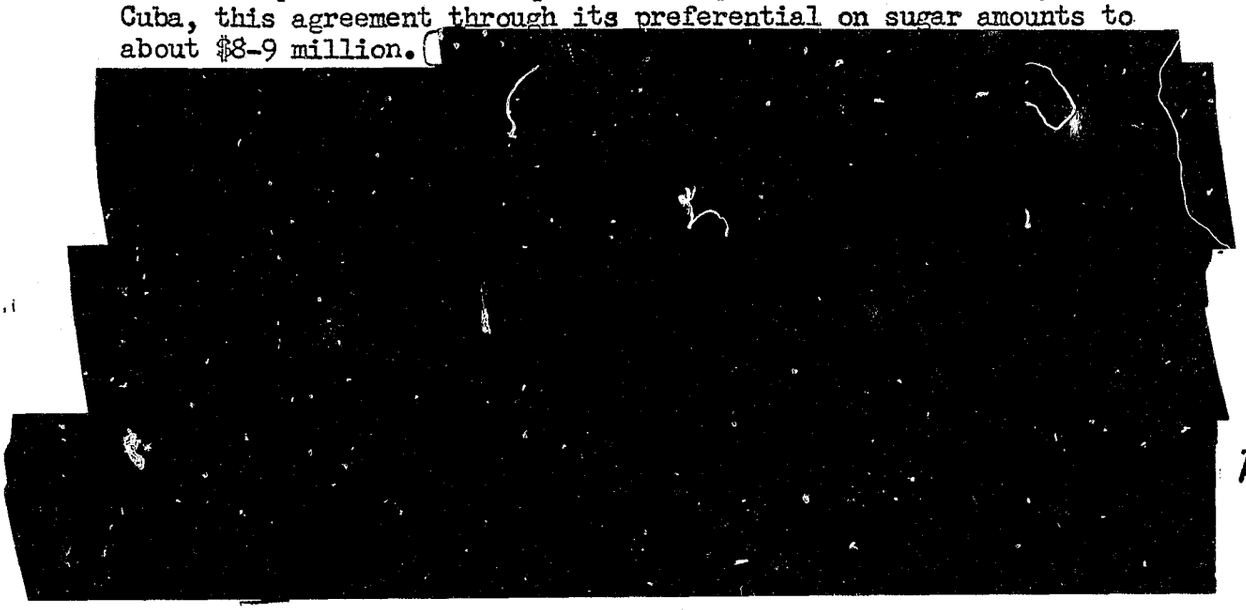
no taxes. Meanwhile, the GSA is trying to ship out of Cuba approximately 7-8 million dollars in finished product now stored at Nicaro.

4. Bi-lateral Economic Agreements. The principal bi-lateral economic agreement is the Reciprocal Trade Agreement of 1934 (the first such agreement the U.S. Government ever negotiated) which has been incorporated in subsequent GATT agreements. Essentially for Cuba, this agreement through its preferential on sugar amounts to about $8-9 million.



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U.S.-CUBAN RELATIONS (Continued)

B. Political

1. Communism. The latest estimate by the U.S. intelligence community of the Communist threat in Cuba is contained in NIE 85-2-60, June 14, 1960 at Tab _____. Mr. Rubottom's public statement on this subject made before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs is at Tab ____. It should be noted that in attempting to assess future developments the intelligence community in the above-mentioned NIE did not take into consideration the various actions by the USG which have recently been taken or are now under study.

2. Safety of Americans. Although there has been no apparent increase in the number of incidents involving American citizens in conflict with the Cuban authorities in recent months, it seems probable that the steadily increasing virulence and tempo of the Castro regime's attacks against the U.S. have produced an atmosphere in which serious incidents could occur at almost any time. It is believed that the time has come in which the USG should, as a minimum, issue some form of notice for the benefit of Americans considering travel to Cuba. Such a notice, of course, would also serve as an indirect warning to American residents in Cuba that the USG considers that the situation has seriously worsened. A draft of such a notice is contained at Tab ____.

3. Maintaining of Relations. It seems very probable that the Castro regime would not be adverse to a break in relations if taken at the initiative of the United States. For this reason, we have considered this point as a factor in all of our recent actions vis-a-vis Cuba. The relatively mild Cuban response to the U.S. action in expelling two Cuban Consular officials in retaliation for the Cuban expulsion of the two Assistant Legal Attaches lends further support to the belief that Castro desires that a break come from the United States.

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